STOP THE WAR NOW!
WITHDRAW ALL TROOPS!

Workers of the World, Unite!

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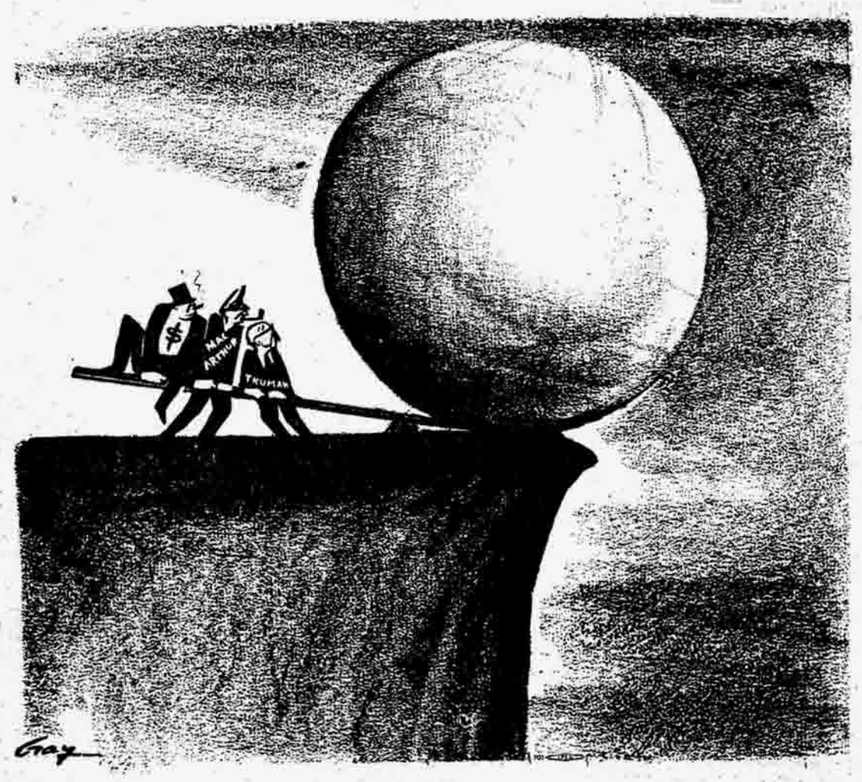

"When Are We Getting Out of Korea?" GIs Ask

Whole World Outraged by Atomic Threat

By Art Preis

Horror and revulsion swept the world at Truman's cold-blooded threat that he is "actively considering" use of the atomic bomb in Korea and Manchuria "if necessary."

His announcement brought home to everyone the terrible immediacy of the danger of world war and evoked a mass cry of outrage. The reaction in Western Europe and Asia was so spontaneous, prompt and overwhelming that for the moment Washington was thrown back on its heels.

In response to the huge popular outcry at the dread prospects of spreading war which Truman's threat presented, the governments of England, France, Western Germany, Canada, the Netherlands and India — key allies of American imperialism — made sharp remonstrance and protest.

Within hours of his provocative statement made to reporters on Nov. 7, the protest abroad and the evident consternation among wide sectors of the people here at home forced Truman to a hasty further statement "to make it certain that there is no misinterpretation" of his first one. "Consideration of the use of any weapon is always implicit in the very possession of that weapon," Truman explained. "By

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WIVES AND MOTHERS WEEP, "SAVE OUR BOYS IN KOREA"

Wives and mothers of American troops caught in the Korean military disaster are pleading tearfully with Truman and Congress to "save our boys."

Some 300 relatives of U.S. Marines trapped in the Chosin reservoir area of Korea held a mass meeting in Birmingham, Ala., on Dec. 6, sponsored by the local Marine Corps League Auxiliary.

The distressed families sent telegrams, drafted at the meeting, entreating Truman to "evacuate our troops immediately."

Weeping wives and mothers made touching spontaneous speeches in which they blamed the plight of their husbands and sons on "bad leadership" and urged that "our boys" not be "left to the slaughter."

Speaking the sentiment of the meeting, G. R. Wilson, father of Cpl. James Wilson, stated: "It seems to me we've had some bad leadership from Washington. Let's tell our leaders we have no confidence in their dilly-dallying around."

Demand Grows Here to Bring Troops Home

BY THE EDITORS

The GIs facing annihilation in Truman's "police action" want to come home. The men who are doing the bleeding and dying are asking just one question: "When are we getting out of Korea?"

This news is contained in a United Press dispatch, relayed through Tokyo on Dec. 5, which reports:

"The withdrawal from Pyongyang. . . was grim and sullen but orderly. Troops seemed to have but one question of anyone who spoke to them:

" 'When do you think we'll get out of Korea?' "

That's the biggest news in all this bloody mess. But you won't find it in the headlines. They tell only what Truman thinks and Attlee says and MacArthur's latest alibi for sending his troops into a trap.

These brief and buried lines telling us what the soldiers think are more important than all the millions of words pouring out of the White House, the UN and MacArthur's headquarters. It is an appeal from American boys to us at home— their mothers, fathers, wives, brothers and sisters — to get them out of Korea before it is too late.

From many quarters in the land, there is a growing response to this desperate plea. We read of weeping wives and mothers of the trapped U.S. Marines meeting down in Alabama and wiring to Truman and Congress to "evacuate our boys immediately."

Groups of prominent citizens — all supporters of the Korean adventure at the start — have sent Washington urgent appeals for withdrawal of the troops. Among the signers of these appeals are such figures as the financier James P. Warburg, Erwin D. Canham, editor of the **Christian Science Monitor** and John Crider, editor of the **Boston Herald.**

But Truman and his associates are stalling. According to the reports at this writing, they are considering a scheme to keep the troops in Korea until they are actually driven into the sea. They are figuring out how to prolong the war and spread it as soon as they think their forces permit. They are calculating how to expend more lives, while the trapped boys in Korea face total disaster.

Let the voice of the GIs be heard. Let the agonized cries of their wives and mothers find a quick and overwhelming response from the American people. Millions are hoping and praying that our boys be saved. There is only one way:

Stop the war NOW! Withdraw the troops at once! Recall MacArthur!

Truman-Attlee Talks Offer Few Concessions to Peiping

By John G. Wright

DEC. 7 — Although militarily and diplomatically the international position of American imperialism is at the lowest ebb in the entire postwar period, the Truman administration continues trying to base its foreign policy on a "show of strength" — especially with regard to China and Asia as a whole.

The refusal to recognize China's new role, position and power in Asia, and by this token in the whole world; the stubborn, almost purblind insistence on treating Mao's government as a mere puppet of the Kremlin; the contemptuous attitude personified by Gen. MacArthur toward all Asians and the clinging to MacArthur himself instead of repudiating him — these are the outstanding features of the Truman-Attlee conferences and of the frenzied diplomatic scurryings in the UN throughout last week.

CONCESSIONS NEEDED

To avoid plunging recklessly into a major war with China, the American imperialists must agree to make important concessions, diplomatically and militarily, to Mao Tse-tung's government.

The extent and nature of these concessions have been the nub of the Truman-Attlee talks which have been neither so harmonious nor amicable as both sides are pretending. Truman, Acheson and the Pentagon find retreats a bitter pill indeed to swallow.

Attlee, backed in his stand not only by Churchill's Tories but also by the French and the West European bourgeoisie generally, is pressing for a much broader compromise in Asia. In this diplomatic tug of war, India's weight is on the side of the Euro-

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ATTLEE

New Arms Bill Ushers In "Garrison Economy"

It is hard for the American people to grasp as yet the full meaning of Truman's message to Congress on Dec. 1 demanding another military appropriation of nearly $18 billion on top of the more than $32 billion already voted since last January.

This huge expansion of the military budget cannot be called a transformation into a full-scale war economy only because the global atomic war which Washington is preparing will have a running cost, if and when it comes, that will make the World War II spending look modest by comparison.

Truman's proposed arms budget expansion — including another billion dollars for the A-Bomb and H-Bomb — will raise this year's total federal spending to $75 billion. This is $5 billion greater than the average for the war years of 1942 - 44. By any previous standard, this year's would be an all-out war budget.

In his Congressional message, however, Truman pointedly observed that "the appropriation request I am transmitting today is not a war budget. That would obviously require more money." This is a bare hint at the intolerable cost and sacrifice that a "real" war economy will entail.

A STAGGERING BLOW

Nevertheless, even if war on the scale envisioned by the American ruling class does not come for some time, the new tempo of military preparations is bound to deal a staggering blow to the living standards of the American people and introduce a degree of control and regimentation never known before.

Prices, already the highest in our history, will soar to the stratosphere. Scarcities — even the total elimination of certain products — will appear in every sphere of consumers goods. Longer hours and speed-up will drain the workers. Higher withholding taxes will slice ever more deeply into purchasing power. Wages will be frozen.

To force the American people to submit to this "garrison economy," as a financial writer of the N. Y. Post describes it, the whole repressive power of the capitalist government will be brought to bear. The McCarran-Kilgore police-state law, ostensibly designed to curb "Communists," will be the instrument for brutal attacks against everyone who protests the worsening conditions. The Taft-Hartley Law will swing more ominously over labor's head.

Ironically, the big shift to a "garrison economy" will first hit hundreds of thousands of industrial workers in the form of mass lay-offs for from two to six months during the change-over from consumers goods to armaments production in the auto, electrical equipment and other war industries. Then, as war production gets into high gear, the labor shortage will bring an intensive government-industry drive to increase the length of the work-week and freeze workers to their jobs. The Senate War Investigating Committee is already engaged in a "study" of man-power needs, including the proposal to lengthen the work-week.

The last index of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics showed that the cost-of-living in October was already higher than the previous all-time high of August 1948. On Nov. 29, W. Stuart Symington, war mobilization chief, said that in his view the "real impact" of the expanded military budget will not be felt until about April 1 and "will grow from there on." Scarcities will be greatly intensified by a one-third reduction in the amounts of aluminum, zinc, nickel, copper and other metals allocated for consumer use and used in thousands of consumer products.

PERIOD OF TENSION

Secretary of State Marshall last week said we are facing "a long period of tension in which we take our men away from their homes, their families, their business. We do not know for how long." Speaking to a group of Columbia University freshmen, Gen. Eisenhower told them that "at the very, very best, gentlemen, most of your life is going to be lived in a period of tension."

From now on, not a "Fair Deal," not social improvements, not better living standards, but a life-long "period of tension," of garrison life and "garrison economy" faces the American people — especially the youth — "at best" under capitalism. And if the people do not intervene to stay the hand of the capitalist war-makers, they will suffer the worst — atomic world war that could wipe out tens of millions in this country alone and destroy civilization as we have known it.

What a War with China Would Cost American People

By George Lavan

Much light-minded talk about declaring war on China is based on ignorance of what such a war would cost the American people. It would drain America not only of its wealth but of its manpower. Almost all men from 16 to 60 would have to be mobilized. Millions of American youth would be destroyed and, in the end, the attempt to conquer China might well prove futile.

The misconceptions about a war with China are due first of all to lack of knowledge about China's immense size, both in population and area. A Gallup Poll last week revealed there is widespread ignorance on this. Those polled were asked to guess how many soldiers China could raise for an all-out war. The average guess was 5 million. Some 31% of all those asked guessed 3 million or less. How wide of the mark this opinion is was indicated by the Gallup report which pointed out: "With a male population of well over 200 million, or more than four times the male population of the United States, the Chinese manpower potential is many times greater than the average American's 5,000,000-man estimate."

MANPOWER COMPARISON

The United States armed forces, including all services, reached a total of 12 million in World War II. The U. S. today has a population of 151 million. China's population, while not exactly known, is estimated at 500 million.

A study by D. N. Rowe entitled "China Among the Powers" estimates that a third of China's males are of military age — that is a military manpower potential of 75 million. If only one-third of these were used it would mean a force **double** that raised by the U. S. in World War II.

Another popular misconception that has been only partially dispelled by the fighting in Korea is

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RICHARDSON SAYS GOVT. WILL TRY TO FORCE 130 GROUPS TO REGISTER

By John F. Petrone

Attorney General McGrath's petition to the new Subversive Activities Control Board, demanding that the Communist Party be required to register its membership under the provisions of the McCarran-Kilgore police-state law, will quickly be followed by a host of petitions directed against other organizations now included on the Attorney General's "subversive" blacklist.

This ominous information was revealed by Seth W. Richardson, chairman of the SACB, in an interview with Cabell Phillips reported in the Dec. 3 issue of the **N. Y. Times Magazine.**

"How will the McCarran Act be administered?" writes Phillips. "Mr. Richardson explained the procedure as follows:

HOW IT WILL WORK

"There are some 130 organizations, of which the Communist Party is one, which already have been proscribed by the Attorney General as subversive. Others may be added from time to time.

"When the new Subversive Activities Control Board . . . gets on a functioning basis, which will be within the next thirty days, the Attorney General will file a complaint against each of the recreants for having failed to register and will set forth his reasons for believing them liable to the registration provisions. The first such complaint, against the Communist Party, was filed a week ago." The rest of this passage deals with how the SACB will hold hearings on the petitions, hand down its decisions, etc.

If Richardson's version of what is contemplated is correct — and he certainly should be in a position to know — then it is clear that the Truman administration intends to use the McCarran law, which it pretended to oppose, to perpetrate the biggest mass frame-up in the nation's history.

M'GRATH'S OWN LIST

The Attorney General's own "subversive" list initiated three years ago, was absolutely arbitrary and had no legal authority whatever. Organizations were put on this list without knowing why and without being granted the chance to refute the charges at an open hearing. This list was used as a basis for the purge of government employees. Organizations included were sub-divided into three groups: "communist," "subversive," and groups seeking to alter the form of the government by "other than constitutional means." Among the organizations named were not only the Stalinists, but also a few fascist groups, a number of anti-Stalinist workers organizations, and several groups that did not engage in politics at all.

The registration provisions of the McCarran-Kilgore law, however, formally apply to only two types of organizations — "communist-action organizations," defined as those "substantially

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Let the People Decide Whether There Shall Be Peace or War!

By Fred Hart

Twenty-four weeks ago the American people were dragged step by step first into a "police action" and then into an "undeclared war" in Korea. Our people are now in danger of being dragged, in virtually the same way, into another and far bigger "undeclared war" — this time with China.

Let us recall what happened a few brief months ago. Last June, it was a single individual — President Truman — who plunged this country into the Korean adventure without the consent or even consultation of Congress, and in flagrant violation of the Constitution.

Some newspapers referred at the time to Truman's action in Korea as an "illegally declared war." After a few feeble voices of protest were raised, Congress then proceeded to invest Truman with powers which the conservative **N. Y. Times** itself was forced to characterize as "unprecedented for the Chief Executive except in wartime."

Truman and the chief spokesmen of his adminstration have been acting much as they did when the Korean crisis first erupted. Truman talks and acts as if a state of war already existed with China again without even bothering to consult Congress or obtain its consent.

There is no publication more pro-capitalist than the **Wall Street Journal.** Yet even this mouthpiece of the financial oligarchy and Wall Street speculators was compelled to make the following damning admission in an editorial on Dec. 1:

"The decisions to turn Korean aid into a fight-to-the-finish Korean war were made within the administration without outside consultation at home but also without much real consultation of other nations. We did it and the rest were told to follow."

WHAT IS BEING DONE

"We did it!" Let us recall some of the things "we did," and continue to do here at home. If in the early Korea days, the peacetime draft was reversed overnight, then today they are rushing through Congress further drastic extensions of the draft and of manpower mobilization, the full extent of which is being kept completely secret.

If in the early Korea days the shift to war production was simply begun, today plans are being rushed to convert to full-scale war production as rapidly as possible.

If last June "civilian defense" groups began to sprout on a local and state wide scale, then today there is open talk of investing these same "civilian" groups with "shocking powers."

If last June the destruction of civil liberties and the preparations for installing the police-state were in full swing, then today the Truman administration itself is serving as the most efficient and ruthless agency for enforcing all the police-state measures, from the McCarran-Kilgore Law down.

In brief, every single thing that was done in the early days of the Korea crisis is being repeated and extended today. And throughout, our people "were told to follow." And all this is done in an atmosphere of national panic, deliberately created and spread by the Truman administration, by its diplomats, by the general staff, by the banks, by the capitalist parties, their press, their radio and their pulpit.

If last June they spread this panic under the guise of a "calculated risk" to "safeguard peace," then today they are doing it under the cry of "national survival." For the tiny handful of super-billionaires and their political and military henchmen, this national panic is indispensable: It supplies the psychological cement to bind the mass of the people to themselves.

Above all, with the aid of the official labor leaders, they seek to deprive the American workers of all will to struggle or resist by rendering them helpless captives of such a national panic.

PRACTICAL METHOD

It is the worst of insults to the people of this country, and above all to organized labor, to have fateful decisions now in the balance made by one man or a small clique around him. Even more compelling is the fearsome danger involved, as has already been shown by the terrible catastrophe which Truman and his clique brought on the GI's in Korea. Action is urgently needed to prevent far greater catastrophes.

The American people should intervene, to take the warmaking powers away from Congress and the White House and exercise these powers themselves. Let the people decide the overriding issue of whether there shall be peace or war! That is the slogan consistently raised by the Socialist Workers Party. That is the most practical method of mobilizing the anti-war sentiment and of blocking the plans of the war-makers.

YUGOSLAVIA'S INTERESTS HURT BY VOTE IN UN ON CRISIS OVER KOREA

By Paul G. Stevens

Yugoslavia's delegate to the United Nations Security Council voted last week in favor of the resolution calling for the withdrawal of Chinese troops from Korea and against the resolutions calling for the withdrawal of United States armed forces from Formosa. This action further undermined Yugoslavia's real interests in the struggle against the Kremlin and Stalinism. No declaration accompanying the vote has yet been made public in the American press. But the vote itself, broadcast to all the world, made sufficiently clear that in this ominous war crisis, in which Truman dangled the A-Bomb over China's millions, the Yugoslav regime was ranged along side the imperialists.

Nor was this unprincipled stand of the Tito government mitigated by the fact that Yugoslavia, hard-hit by last summer's drought and facing famine, had been pushed into an unprecedentedly difficult position by the Soviet bureaucracy's treacherous campaign of attrition and war threats. For the strategic requirements of the struggle between Washington and Moscow made it incumbent in any case for the U. S. government to send food shipments, economic aid, and even armaments even if Yugoslavia, "with her 30-odd divisions" should "remain neutral," as administration spokesmen stressed in Congressional hearings on the subject during the week.

LENIN'S APPROACH

To be sure, terrific pressure to "line up" was nevertheless exerted upon the government at Belgrade by the State Department. But a government imbued with **Lenin's** teachings would have known how to stand firm, to "take the imperialists' potatoes and guns" — as Lenin once said in 1918 — without yielding anything in principle, without compromising its revolutionary integrity. The Yugoslav Communist leadership showed, instead, that in the field of foreign policy it is still bound by Stalin's miserable school of opportunism.

Instead of taking the interests of the international struggle for socialism as their guide, the Yugoslav leaders have made opposition to "aggression" in general the "moral" cornerstone of their foreign policy. The Yugoslav participation in the Security Council votes followed an exposition by Wu Hsiu-chuan, the head of the Peiping delegation, of the course of American intervention in China. If he did nothing else, Wu proved that every act of U. S. imperialism in China since the end of World War II — from transporting Chiang Kai-shek's American-trained-and-equipped 166 divisions to the civil war battlefields all the way to the occupation of Formosa by the 13th Air Force and the 7th Fleet — constituted aggression of enormous scope.

Thus, even on their own premises, the Yugoslav representatives in the Security Council should have taken just the reverse stand.

But their own vote showed that a "principle" which makes no distinction between the oppressing class and the oppressed, between imperialist capitalism and the exploited colonial peoples, can easily lead into the trap set by the oppressors.

After all the previous aggressions the Chinese now see the industrial heart of the nation in Manchuria threatened directly. To vote against the withdrawal of MacArthur's troops, who by word and deed has announced his determination to "dominate with air power every Asiatic port from Vladivostok to Singapore" hardly jibes with the declared Yugoslav opposition to all aggressors. It signifies the ignominious collapse of that patently ambiguous policy.

It may be that the Yugoslav leaders consider their recent stand in the UN as a mere verbal concession which is somehow permissible in the face of imperialist blackmail as a means to obtain food for their famine-threatened population and arms against the menacing Kremlin bureaucracy. But such opportunism has its own logic. Every declaration and vote in the UN together with the imperialists is bound to strike consternation in the hearts and minds of the masses, not only of revolutionary Asia but also of Europe. Every such opportunist act is exploited to the full by the Stalinist propaganda aiming to isolate revolutionary Yugoslavia from these masses.

The peoples of Asia are in motion against the old order. In the coming crucial times, the masses of Europe will not lag far behind. The safety of revolutionary Yugoslavia lies in the rise of new "Yugoslavias" — and therein alone. The present Yugoslav foreign policy not only serves the imperialists, but it helps Stalin to cut off Yugoslavia from its true allies in all the other countries.

Only a sharp about-face by the Tito government toward a Leninist foreign policy can defeat the Kremlin plans. Only a proletarian internationalist appeal, genuinely independent of both Washington and Moscow, can link up the masses of Yugoslavia with the revolutionary future of the masses in Europe and in the whole world, against both imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Yugoslavia Seen With Open Eyes: 6

The Struggle Against Bureaucracy

By Ernest Germain

Bureaucracy is an unavoidable evil in any backward country where the proletarian revolution has achieved an isolated victory. In Yugoslavia, the evil is all the stronger because the policy of the Communist Party itself, "copying many forms of the Russians" (Tito, in his speech of June 25, 1950) during the past years, encouraged the elements of bureaucratism existing in the country. It was only after the break with the Kremlin, after the turn of the Yugoslav leaders towards a "new course," towards workers' democracy, that the problem of bureaucracy was grappled with, first empirically and then theoretically, and a conscious struggle launched against bureaucracy.

The struggle against bureaucratism is today the hub of the activity of the Yugoslav CP and the Yugoslav government. Slogans are painted everywhere on the walls, hundreds of newspaper articles, thousands of speeches over the radio and at public meetings are made on this issue. This is not just a token "campaign against bureaucratism" lasting a couple of weeks, like those the Stalinist parties undertake from time to time. It is an effort of the whole Yugoslav Communist Party to explain to the people what bureaucracy is, where it comes from, and how best to combat it.

This fact alone is enough to show how absurd are all those theories which try to explain that a "bureaucratic class or caste" is in power in Yugoslavia. One can hardly imagine a capitalist government educating the people in the struggle against capitalism, or a Stalinist government training the workers how to get rid of the privileges of the bureaucracy. But such education and training is being carried on today in Yugoslavia on a broader scale than has ever been done before in any country. As a result of that education, thousands of workers believe and say, as did the one questioned by a young Frenchman at the Rakovica plant: "The workers are absolutely capable of managing a plant themselves." A strange "ruling class" indeed, which puts such ideas into the workers' heads!

SOCIAL PRIVILEGES

The first and decisive question which helps determine the dynamics of a workers' state, after the proletarian revolution, is the following: Are social privileges become less or more important? Is social inequality growing or diminishing? It is possible to answer such questions today in Yugoslavia. Not only is social inequality diminishing, and already much less than it was three years ago, but the government has been undertaking a conscious campaign aimed at depriving non-productive layers of the population of vested privileges, and **giving them to the industrial workers of the large plants.**

As noted in a previous article, although the food situation today is very bad, the workers' canteens of the big factories receive big supplements from their ekonomia, or state-owned farms whose products are put at their disposal. As a matter of fact, food in these canteens is much better than the food eaten by the average Yugoslav citizen, including state functionaries. Exceptions to that rule are to be found only among individuals who have large incomes; i.e., rich peasants, speculators, some small private entrepreneurs, writers and artists and foreigners, who are able to eat regularly in the free market restaurants of the big towns.

Another important gauge of the degree of social stratification is money income itself. Monthly wages vary from 2,500 dinars to 13,000 dinars — but it is very rare that unskilled workers earn as little as 2,500 dinars for a full working month. Apprentices, streetsweepers, and charwomen are among these lowest paid categories.

The average wage for skilled workers is 4,000 dinars. This is a rough estimate, as there are great regional and occupational differentials. A white-collar worker, a government employee, etc., gets from 3,000 to 4,000 dinars monthly. Factory managers and high state functionaries get around 6,000 dinars—often less; and the biggest plant managers get up to 9,000 dinars. Skilled and highly skilled workers easily make the same wage, if not more. But very few individuals get more than 9,000 dinars; included in these groups are ministers, shockworkers and some writers and artists. The highest wages are in general those of a spectacular shockworker, who earns 12,000 to 13,000 dinars a month.

Of course, the income of individuals still engaged in private enterprise is much higher. But these people in the cities are very few: owners of some laboratories for drugs or cosmetics, proprietors of power saws, or some carters and draymen. Money income of small peasants and of people in cooperatives is on the whole equal to that of skilled workers. Rich peasants and speculators get the highest money income in the country, often tens of thousands of dinars.

In a society in transition between capitalism and socialism, wages aren't everything. There are many other forms of money and social income. Managers in the plants used to have at their disposal, as in Russia, a "managerial fund," which they could divide among the best shockworkers and reserve a big slice for themselves. The law of June 28, 1950 has changed this. The managerial fund has become a "factory fund," administered by the factory committee. The plan is to augment it considerably, and to distribute it more widely among as great a number of workers as possible. "Our goal," the members of the brigade were told by a member of the central committee of the Yugoslav trade unions, "is to divide the factory fund, when it is large enough, among all the workers in proportion to their average yearly income."

Managers, engineers, and shockworkers still receive important premiums at the end of the year if their plant surpasses the production figures fixed by the Plan, but when divided over 12 months, these premiums do not change the existing relation between their money income and a skilled worker's income. At the Jesenica steel plant the manager, whose monthly salary is 6,000 dinars, received last year the high premium of 30,000 dinars. This means, however, that his average monthly income was 8,500 dinars, or equal to that of many skilled workers in that same plant (where wages are above average because of the bad food situation in that barren region of Slovenia). In the biggest enterprises, like the Senica steelworks and the Jablanica power station, managers get salaries as high as 9,000 dinars monthly plus bonus.

BLOWS TO PRIVILEGE

An important blow to bureaucratic privileges was dealt at the beginning of 1950, when several thousand automobiles were taken away from state functionaries and managers of plants and were sent to the backward areas where they are necessary for vital transportation. The traffic of automobiles in and out of cities is carefully checked in order to prevent their being used for private pleasure. Another important change occurred when the government decided to halt construction of dozens of big administrative buildings in order to build workers' houses instead. Wherever a new factory is built, the houses for its workers are erected at the same time.

Travel by train is today difficult and expensive in Yugoslavia — if you are not a worker. Railway fares are very high, and in hotels, prices are preposterous. Workers, however, go on free vacations by the thousands, and to special rest homes owned by the plants, and thousands benefit from the small overall price of 1,000 dinars per week for food and lodging at the hotels and a 75% reduction on train fares.

All these facts mean that the workers today are becoming conscious that they are the masters in the country. Their relations with the managers are very friendly, if not slightly condescending. Foreign youth, brigadiers often heard them talk about "that poor man" who earns less than they do. In most plants there are no foremen; work is mostly organized on the basis of a brigade, with the brigade leader chosen by his comrades, and very often changed by them. The workers circulate freely inside the factories, they smoke and talk among themselves. Hundreds of foreigners who visited them this year and who were able to talk freely with them without interpreters — thousands of Yugoslav workers speak either German, French or Italian — observed and felt the tremendous difference of atmosphere in these plants as compared to that which prevails in the "democratic" capitalist countries.

The powers of plant managers are today already limited by law, and by the consciousness of the vanguard of the working class. The law of June 28, 1950 on workers' management maintains a state appointed manager in the factories up to December 1950. This manager still retains great powers and rights, and he is an ex-officio member of the administrative councils. He can, however, be removed by decision of the factory committee, as happened some time ago at the modern Naprijed factory of Zagreb. From 1951 on, however, managers will no longer be appointed by the state, but elected by the "administrative committee of the higher economic unit," i.e., an organ elected by all the members of the factory committees of all plants in a given branch of industry. They will thereby be indirectly elected by the workers.

This measure is itself only a transitional measure to the stage when the manager of each plant will be elected by the workers of that plant. Some workers think this will happen in six months (as expressed by a member of the factory committee of Ivo Lola Ribar) or a year (as at Jugostampa). Others think it will be come possible only in two or three years, (members of factory committees at Rankovica and Jesenica). But all advanced workers are already talking about it, and it is posed as an immediate perspective before the whole working class of Yugoslavia.

Nor are these legislative measures the only way the struggle against the bureaucracy is being carried on. The number of administrative personnel is decreasing rapidly; such decreases are one of the main goals of the workers councils, who cut the administrative personnel down to half its former size at the TAM truck plant at Maribor, for example. Wherever bureaucratic elements try to order workers around, or to hamper the normal functioning of the councils, they are sharply reprimanded, if not dismissed. The papers are more and more filled with letters denouncing bureaucratic privileges and attitudes of individual state functionaries, ministers included. There is a special weekly broadcast called **Vetchelo Vetch** (Pleasant evening) on Sunday nights, in which cases of this sort are treated in a sharp if humorous way. And it has become quite an effective weapon against any bureaucratic ways and habits to utter the warning: "Be careful, otherwise they will talk about you next week on the **Vetchelo Vetch.**"

The state apparatus as well as the economic staff of the country has undergone a purge in line with the policy of struggle against bureaucracy. People's committees who were dissatisfied with their executive bodies have started dismissing them, as happened recently in Rijeka. During the stay of foreign delegations in Belgrade the signs "Ministarstvo" on many buildings were replaced by the signs "Savet" (soviet, council).

This was more than a fine label for what is going on in Yugoslavia today, for these councils are only partly composed of government functionaries, and already partly of workers' representatives. The avowed goal of the Yugoslav leaders is to attain in a few years' time a situation where the former "ministries" will be administered by "councils" elected by all factory committees of that branch of industry. The self-administration of the workers will then have been achieved, and the elected representatives of the workers will then have the decisive word in mapping out the economic plan itself.

THE PEOPLE UNDERSTAND

It would be a wrong impression to conclude that there are no signs of bureaucracy left in Yugoslavia. There are still too few bicycles, automobiles, motorcars — and only a restricted number of people can own or use them. There are still many material privileges in housing and food attached to the highest state and party officialdom. There is still the ugly institution of the **"diplomatski magasin,"** where foreigners and high functionaries can buy things which are not available to the man in the street. (This article was already written when a government decree of October 14, 1950 actually abolished these stores. And what language that decree used! "No one shall have more to eat than a heavy industry worker. . ." Nor has this decree remained on paper alone; every day there is a special column in **Borba** enumerating high state and party officials who have been punished for violating decisions of that decree.)

There are still especially many privileges among the army officers, hangovers from the days when the CPY built up its permanent army on Stalin's model. There are still "work books," though with the workers councils controlling hiring and firing of personnel they have lost most of their ugliness. But all these privileges and customs are becoming fewer and fewer, the people understand their significance and the danger they represent, and their disappearance is only a question of time, if the present trend prevails.

(Next week: Freedom of Expression)

Chinese at UN

Gen. Wu Hsiu-chuan of the Chinese People's Republic is greeted by Jacob Malik of the Soviet Union's UN delegation as he arrived at Lake Success to participate in proceedings of the Security Council.

Few Concessions Offered to Peiping

(Continued from Page 1)

pean bourgeoisie. What is more important, Washington's "show of strength" policy flies in the face of the rising anti-war opposition in Europe.

The terms on which Peiping is ready, if not anxious, to make a deal appear to be as follows: 1) A full say in Korea, plus the recall of all "outside forces"; 2) the return of Formosa plus the recall of the 7th Fleet from Chinese waters; 3) admission to the UN (diplomatic recognition by the U. S. is seemingly a matter of indifference right now to Mao).

FORMOSA AN OBSTACLE

While Korea, and especially the disastrous position of American armies there, occupies the center of the stage, it is the issue of Formosa which remains the main obstacle to a negotiated compromise with China.

The strategists in Washington, who are more than amenable to some face-saving formula for a military and diplomatic retreat on Korea, continue to balk at a retreat from Formosa. From all indications Mao's regime is more concerned about Formosa than Korea and is least inclined to make serious concessions on this score.

The sinister influence of Gen. MacArthur and the Chiang lobby who were instrumental in the original seizure of Formosa at the outbreak of the Korea crisis thus continues to play a major role in the decisions which the White House and the Pentagon are currently trying to reach.

The Truman administration gave notice of its refusal to budge on Formosa on Dec. 1 or almost simultaneously with the announcement of Attlee's hurried trip across the Atlantic. Washington chose precisely that moment to officially notify Chiang Kai-shek that there was "no present intention of withdrawing the 7th Fleet," and that Formosa would remain "neutralized." This was obviously intended not so much for Chiang as for the Atlantic Allies and India's Premier Nehru, who still backs Mao on Formosa.

Truman, Acheson and the Pentagon are toying with the notion of a "limited war" against China, by means of a naval and air blockade with periodic assaults on the coastal areas and strategic bases on the mainland. As the N. Y. Times, Dec. 6, puts it, this plan envisages carrying on "a form of limited warfare against her (meaning China) from whatever bases are available for that purpose."

The nearest, biggest and best "available base" is none other than — Formosa.

It is precisely this projected "limited war" that the British, French and West Europeans generally oppose and fear so much. As for the Indian bourgeoisie, it is panic stricken, like all other Asian ruling classes including the Japanese, at the mere thought of Asia being turned into a battleground. Such an "informal" war would necessarily drag out indefinitely and sooner or later extend far beyond any limits set in advance by any madmen.

The British in particular fear being driven out of Hong Kong, Singapore and Malaya; the French would lose their already tenuous hold on Indo-China. And the crowning threat is, of course, that once all of Asia becomes involved, as it must, the drift into World War III could not be checked.

While disclaiming any intention of becoming involved in a "total" war with China, and desperately searching, like the caricature Orientals of their own sick minds, for some face-saving devices to mitigate the retreats dictated by their untenable military and diplomatic positions on the world arena, the American ruling circles keep grinding their teeth at every concession, no matter how slight.

STILL TRUCULENT

The "limited war" is simply a tactical variant of MacArthur's policy, namely, that this is no time to hesitate or back down in Asia.

The need to apply "stern measures," especially in the UN, is the only thing thus far made public from the continuing sessions behind closed doors in Washington. Even on the question of using atomic explosives, on which the administration has ostensibly retracted, the real attitude remains truculent.

The attitude of the U. S. government now, coolly explains the Dec. 3 **Times** dispatch, is that it "will not defy the feelings in the UN" against the use of the A-Bomb "if the members of the United Nations stand by the principles of the organization, but **if they do not the United States will not abandon its own obligation to support those principles, and it will not give up its own freedom of action to act as it feels it must to defend its Army and the United Nations."** If this is not a thinly veiled threat, what is it?

On the score of the "limited war," the Truman-Attlee talks have evidently proved inconclusive, with the final decisions postponed to a later date. Meanwhile, the status of Formosa remains "frozen." In return, Attlee has apparently received certain "pledges" concerning Hong Kong and Malaya; while the French were assured on Indo-China.

This truculent attitude which is being used to whip Attlee and the rest of the Atlantic "appeasers," as they are labelled by the capitalist press, will avail the American imperialists exactly nothing so far as Mao's government is concerned.

The American imperialists have made already more retreats than they ever contemplated when they plunged into the Korean adventure. They have toned down considerably their conduct and demands in the UN. They have given "tacit approval" to the proposal of the 13 Middle East and Far East countries (including their own puppet, the Philippines!) to "stabilize" the front in Korea at the 38th parallel. They have made more concessions to Attlee and the French than they care to admit publicly. Nor is it assured that Attlee's colleagues in Britain and on the old continent will be satisfied with his compromises.

If cooler and soberer heads among the narrow ruling circles of American imperialism prevail — and from current indications they still retain the upper hand in deciding policy — then Washington will execute far bigger retreats than it is prepared for at the present juncture.

On the other hand, if they cling to the fantastic adventure of a "limited war" with China, they will unavoidably drift into far greater disasters than those which broke over their heads since the reckless adventure in Korea.

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THE MILITANT ARMY

Anti-War Headline Helps Sales Of "The Militant"

To judge from the first response, last week's issue of the paper with its striking headline, "STOP THE WAR NOW!" was just what members of the Militant Army wanted for distribution in the current war crisis.

The **New York Local** of the Socialist Workers Party put on a demonstrative sale in crowded downtown areas and a number of working class districts. Despite a driving rain, 33 **Militant** salesmen went out Saturday in Browsville, Harlem, the Lower East Side and Union Square and sold 237 copies of **The Militant** in about an hour and a half.

The bold anti-war slogans of the paper met with interest and even admiration while very little hostility was encountered. People in the lower-income brackets, **The Militant** salesmen found, don't like the war in Korea and don't want to get in any deeper.

Mary L., undisputed champion in the petition campaign to put SWP candidates on the ballot in this year's election, was high scorer in street sales of **The Militant** with a tally of 59 copies to her credit.

Ray M. and **Ruby G.**, got in out of the rain by selling door to door in Harlem. Their ingenuity paid off. In less than one hour they sold out their bundle of 40 **Militants** in two apartment buildings.

Other high scorers were **Elaine R.**, 16 copies, and **David Weiss, 14. Frieda B.** and **Pauline G.** teamed up and sold 24.

Gratified and encouraged by this success, the New York Local plans to follow through energetically by expanding and regularizing the sale of The Militant at schools, factories, union meetings and working class neighborhoods.

* * *

In Chicago too, the "STOP THE WAR NOW!" headline and accompanying articles were well received. "All comrades enthused by issue," Frank Roberts, Literature Agent for **Chicago**, wired, "please rush another 150 copies."

And Literature Agent **Howard Mason** of **Detroit** also wired for 50 more.

* * *

The distribution of socialist literature in Chicago is keeping up well. **Manny Stone** reports. In a typical week in November more than 100 **Militants** were sold and a number of Art Preis's pamphlet, **Welfare State or Socialism?** "We are planning to maintain this pace throughout the winter if possible," says Manny, "and expand the sales when warmer weather comes. Our star sales people are Marj, Irving, Paul, Bert, Gordon, Esther, Snow, Frank and Don."

Manny, who is a star salesman himself, observes that there is "one outstanding feature about the people who buy **The Militant** today. They all take the paper in a more conscious manner. Events are forcing workers to take a stand on the crucial issues of the day. They are looking for answers and only **The Militant** can give them the correct ones."

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TROTSKY

"... it is precisely the international strength of the United States and her irresistible expansion arising from it, that compels her to include the powder magazines of the whole world into the foundations of her structure, i.e., all the antagonisms between the East and the West, the class struggle in Old Europe, the uprisings of the colonial masses, and all wars and revolutions. On the one hand, this transforms North American capitalism into the basic counter-revolutionary force of the modern epoch, constantly more interested in the maintenance of 'order' in every corner of the terrestrial globe; and on the other hand, this prepares the ground for a gigantic revolutionary explosion in this already dominant and still expanding world imperialist power."

— Leon Trotsky, Third International After Lenin, 1928.

LENIN

What They Voted For

The election pay-off has come. Every unionist, every worker who voted for the capitalist party candidates at the bidding of the labor leaders now knows what he voted for.

One month after the votes were counted, the parties and politicians maintained in power in Washington have led this country to the brink of a war with China and a possible world war.

No matter what the workers thought they were voting for, no matter what the union leaders told them they were voting for, the events of just four weeks have proved they were voting for the imperialist war program.

They gave their votes to a $50 billion military budget that will give us a "garrison economy" for as long as we can see ahead even if a full-scale war with China is averted.

They gave their votes to price inflation, scarcities, higher taxes, speed-up, job regimentation and all the other sacrifices and curtailments that go with full-speed-ahead war preparations.

They gave their votes to throw their sons and brothers by the millions into uniform, to deny them any future but the barracks life and the prospect at the end of mutilation and death.

They gave their votes to enrich and strengthen the monopolists and war profiteers whose "abnormal profits," as one government official called them, will be tapped by the excess-profits bill passed by the House for only $3.7 billion next year, while low-income earners will pay the overwhelming share of the new $75 billion total federal budget.

All this is a terrible price to pay for a political lesson — but if it is learned, it will not have been paid in vain. This lesson — which **The Militant** has never tired of repeating — is that both the Democratic and Republican parties are instruments and tools of Big Business. There is no basic difference between them. Their program is the safeguarding of capitalist rule and profits. Their "solution" for the contradictions and crises of capitalism is war.

There is no way out unless the American working class builds its own party, takes the leadership of the nation and sets up a Workers and Farmers Government. To save America and the world from catastrophe, the people must rule in their own name and decide their own fate.

None for Domestic Consumption

The highest government officials, holding dozens of conferences on the international crisis, appear to be concerned with every other matter these days except the domestic witch-hunt which they set loose in conjunction with the cold war. But it has been moving briskly along without any let-up. Just to mention a few of the witch-hunt highlights during the last week:

1. As the front page article of this issue reports, the Department of Justice intends to enforce the McCarran-Kilgore police-state law even more stringently than McCarran himself proposed to do; according to Seth W. Richardson, chairman of the Subversive Activities Control Board, preparations are being made to impose registration on all of the 130 groups now on the Attorney General's private "subversive" blacklist.

2. The New York Court of Appeals unanimously upheld the constitutionality of the Feinberg Act, which directs the State Board of Regents to draw up a list of so-called "subversive" organizations and to fire any teacher or other school employee who belongs to them.

3. Earl Browder, former secretary of the Communist Party, was jailed in Washington on charges of "contempt of Congress" when he lacked $1,500 for bail. (The failure of the Stalinist-dominated Civil Rights Congress to offer the money for his bond is typical of their contemptible disregard for civil rights of their political opponents, even when it involves an individual who served them loyally most of his life.)

4. A campaign was started to ban the Stalinist **Daily Worker** from newsstands in New York City.

5. The Supreme Court heard argument in the appeal of the 11 Stalinist leaders convicted under the Smith Act last year. The government's Solicitor General, defending the constitutionality of that thought-control measure, insisted free speech was not at issue because the Stalinists don't believe in free speech themselves.

6. The U.S. Court of Appeals reversed the conviction of Judith Coplon on espionage charges on the ground that she has been illegally arrested. But of course the FBI, which violated the law in this case, gets off scot-free.

Each day, if not each hour, brings fresh additions to this endless list. Yet the very individuals, from Truman down, responsible for this destruction of civil liberties at home never cease talking of how precious freedom is, say, in Korea; of how the "dignity of man," etc. etc., must be protected all over the world. They are busy exporting democracy on such a wholesale basis that apparently little or none can be spared for domestic consumption.

If they are not stopped these hypocrites will destroy the very spirit of freedom and of free men in our land.

Is This the Beginning of The Third World War?

By William F. Warde

Has the Third World War begun? That is the question posed by the present situation. The N. Y. Compass, for example, flatly asserts that World War III is here. Is this so?

Fast-moving as the events have proved, they still do not permit a categorical answer to this question which will be settled in the coming weeks, if not days. But as yet a general war has not been precipitated or declared; the governments are engaged in frantic negotiations in search of a diplomatic compromise; and many weighty factors continue to militate against an immediate showdown.

First, however much the U. S. militarists may want to battle it out with the Soviet Union, they have to recognize that the present relation of forces on the world arena is far from favorable for a quick victory. America's economic superiority is incontestable. But it is quite otherwise in the military and political fields.

America's military position in the Far East is obviously perilous and weak while the general staff admits it is not yet capable of conducting a war in the main theater of Europe. That is why Washington is making such Herculean efforts to somehow change the existing balance of forces.

EUROPE RESISTS

Second, the countries of Western Europe are resisting all-out rearmament. They do not care to be the battleground, the chief target of atomic bombings, to act as shock-absorbers for Wall Street's military machine or be occupied by Russian armies. Their governments show extreme reluctance to shoulder their assignments in the Pentagon's plans. Britain is dragging its feet; France protests the revival of German militarism; and the West German people have just unmistakably expressed opposition to another war in three elections. No wonder Prime Minister Attlee hurried to Washington, after talking with the Premier of France, to try to persuade Truman from plunging deeper into war.

Third, the successive blows delivered to imperialism by the Asian upheavals threaten America's grip on that entire area, even before it can strike directly at the Soviet Union. Above all, the new China has emerged as an extremely formidable and independent power in world politics, possessing a revolutionary impact and a military might which upset all previous calculations. China can no longer be ordered around, pulled to pieces or bartered for by the big powers, as in the days of Chiang Kai-shek.

Finally, the Korean events have disclosed serious shortcomings in the arsenal of the war-makers and they feel the need for a prolonged period of preparation and rearmament on a colossal scale.

All these factors bear down upon the policy-makers in Washington, checking any rush into all-out war, and forcing them to consider ways and means of ending the Korean adventure and arriving at some kind of agreement, no matter how temporary, with Peiping and with Moscow.

OTHER COMPULSIONS

Intermingling with and counteracting the above factors are the strong compulsions which are hastening America's rulers toward a final showdown. The acceleration of the inherent drive toward war as world capitalism decays can be gauged by comparing the speed of developments since the close of World War II with the parallel period after the First World War. Then there was an interlude of over two decades between hostilities during which the United States passed through a tremendous peacetime boom and a protracted depression and only then resorted to an extensive arms program. Now, after a brief postwar boom, this county has had to initiate an arms race of unparalleled proportions and faces pointblank the choice of global war or a peace which amounts to an uneasy and fantastically expensive armed truce.

The arms boom in turn creates its own contradictions. On one hand, it cannot be discontinued or reduced too much without risking economic chaos. On the other hand, the national income and treasury are not inexhaustible and sooner or later the government will confront the need to check the momentum of the spiraling inflation to prevent it from running wild. Armaments cannot be piled up endlessly; the economic, political and military urge to use them becomes irresistible at a certain point; and that is why every arms race in modern history has culminated in war.

The very colonial revolutions that deter the imperialists in the Orient likewise generate a feeling in top circles that it is inadvisable to delay too long before blasting away at the Soviet Union. Truman's threat to drop the atom bomb was applauded by all those people who are eager to "fight Russia right away."

Finally, the panic and hysteria manifested in Washington as a result of the unexpected reverses, the difficulties of extricating themselves from the existing impasse and finding satisfactory terms for a settlement can increase pressure for the same type of reckless decision that led to the involvement in Korea.

THE PRESENT TREND

The trend in Washington and especially among the Atlantic Allies continues to be against the launching of full-scale war in the immediate future. The advocates of "preventive war" may win out at a later date but right now they are being restrained by cooler heads in Washington, who are holding the door open for negotiations.

Of course, whatever deals the governments may make, including those between the White House and the Kremlin, can serve not to avert but only to postpone the outbreak of a new world war. They cannot eliminate the evils of capitalism or the antagonisms which provoked the present crisis. Nor will they prove capable of solving the problems of American imperialism or removing its basic causes of conflict with the Asian masses and the Soviet Union.

The world today is pregnant with war and no one, including the major powers, can say with assurance when or where it will be delivered. Great wars are not usually set by schedule; they explode through the collision of forces which have slipped beyond anyone's control. And neither Washington nor Moscow is in complete control of all the forces at work in the world today.

STILL TIME TO INTERVENE

While it would be foolish to minimize the heightened danger of a general war issuing from the present tension and tangle of events, it would be unwise and incorrect to assume or to assert that the Third World War has already started.

Although America's imperialists have embarked on a course that can eventuate only in universal war, their ultimate decision is still to be made. The Third World War remains a possibility; it has not become the reality. Time is left, and room is open, not only for the powers to conclude a compromise but also for the masses of people to intervene and have their say about the further development of events.

UNITED NATIONS -- ITS TRUE ROLE AS PROMOTER OF IMPERIALIST WAR

The columns of the big dailies are full of cries about the need to preserve, unimpaired and untarnished, the prestige, dignity, "moral authority," etc., of the United Nations. The liberals, running true to form, are screaming how necessary it is at all costs to "save the UN."

Save it for what? Among the loudest of these self-appointed saviors is Ted O. Thackrey, editor of the **Daily Compass**. Yet even he is able to find no weightier reason for retaining the UN than its role "as a useful forum."

One would await in vain an explanation from all the Thackreys just how a "guardian of peace" — the role in which the UN has masqueraded from its inception — had suddenly become converted into a mere talking shop, no matter how "useful." Unable to peddle any longer the big lie, because life itself has exposed it, the liberal champions of the UN now shamefacedly offer a substitute lesser falsehood.

For the truth is that the UN never did, and never will, fulfil any socially constructive purpose, not even that of serving as a public forum. It was and remains, like its predecessor the League of Nations, an instrument for promoting Great Power policies. Like the defunct League, the UN is a creature of secret diplomacy, with all the real decisions made behind closed doors, and then solemnly rubber-stamped in public as "world body" decisions.

The UN, like the utterly discredited League, serves as a facade for imperialist policies, in particular those of Wall Street and the old colonial powers.

The task of tasks of imperialist diplomats is to precipitate war at a time when international and military conditions are most favorable for their own side; and, at the same time, to arrange and represent matters so as to unload the responsibility for the slaughter on the other side.

MAIN FUNCTION

Anyone who did not deliberately shut his eyes, could observe how the UN, especialy since Korea, has been serving precisely this task of imperialist diplomacy. The late Roosevelt, chief architect of the UN, designed it for this main, if not sole, function. At all events, the UN can and will subordinate this function to no other.

A "unification" of imperialists is a unification on paper only. Exposing the old League, Lenin said, "In reality it is a group of beasts of prey, who only fight one another and do not at all trust one another." The participation of the Soviet Union in the UN has no more changed its character than the Kremlin's previous entry into the League of Nations was able to alter the character of that body.

In both instances, Stalin simply played the game of the imperialists, aided in the deception, helping pave the way for war.

Lenin correctly branded the League of Nations as a Thieves' Kitchen, "a piece of fakery from beginning to end; a lie from beginning to end."

WALL ST. CRACKS WHIP

The distribution of roles among the imperialist thieves has changed since the days of the old League. Then it was the British and the French imperialists who dominated. Today it is Wall Street that cracks the whip, while the British and the French have been reduced to the status of junior partners. When agreement is reached among them, that becomes automatically the policy of the UN. But in every essential respect the UN is a replica of the defunct League.

It has become customary to speak of the League of Nations as "impotent" and "bankrupt." This is correct only in the sense that its fraudulent role as "guardian of world peace" has been completely exposed. Its real function was fulfilled by the League to the hilt. It played in its day an important role in stabilizing capitalism, lulling the people into a sense of false security and aiding the imperialists to plunge into war.

The United Nations has proved bankrupt and impotent exactly in this same sense. As an important vehicle of the war-makers, as a means of deceiving the people, it overshadows in effectiveness the League of Nations.

What China War Would Cost

(Continued from Page 1)

the alleged military inferiority of the Asians. This may have corresponded to the facts in the old days of colonial conquest but it is certainly not true today. As the Dutch in Indonesia, the French in Indo-China and MacArthur in Korea have learned, the Asian of today, fighting for land and a new life, is a courageous and formidable opponent who can master the techniques of modern warfare.

FIRST-RATE FIGHTERS

Recently an American officer in Korea expressed this when he told reporters of his surprise after his first battle with the North Korean army: "We honestly believed that all we had to do was stand up and show our American uniforms and the gooks would turn and go back across the 38th Parallel." Reluctantly, the American officers and men in Korea made the admission that the North Koreans and the Chinese are first-rate fighters.

But what about the technological superiority of the U.S.? It has the best equipped, most mechanized army in the world. This is undoubtedly a tremendous factor. But the Korean experience has made it plain that superior technology does not necessarily assure victory.

TECHNOLOGY AND TERRAIN

Experience shows that the Asians, when convinced of their cause, can fight successfully against the most mechanized army. In Korea, the U. S. had complete command of the air. Planes bombed and strafed almost without opposition. This did not prevent a staggering defeat of the U. S. army. Both the Koreans and Chinese have made clever use of the terrain to minimize the effectiveness of the U. S. planes and motorized firepower.

And it must be pointed out that the Chinese did not put everything they had into the big battle. Not only is it becoming apparent that Chinese forces never reached the astronomical figure MacArthur is now setting to alibi his defeat, but the Chinese did not commit any of their air force. This force, while not comparable with that of the U. S., still runs to between 800 and 1,000 planes, including latest jet types.

Current lulling stories that the U. S. could wage an air and naval war against China and not be drawn into the vast country are pipe dreams. No war could be brought to a conclusion without destruction of the Chinese armies and aerial war and coastal shelling could not accomplish this. Furthermore, bombing of China might well bring retaliation in kind — regular or atom — to the U. S.

TREMENDOUS TASK

Inevitably, the U. S. would be brought to invade China. What a task that would be! Leaving out of account the opposition of the huge population and the guerrilla warfare bound to flourish behind U. S. lines, consider the geographical difficulties.

One of the vastest countries in the world, a third larger in area than the U.S., China presents monumental difficulties of space and terrain for would-be conquerors. Much of the country is mountainous. Railroads and highways barely leave their imprint on the huge spaces. Our motorized and mechanized armies would find themselves in terrain where their usefulness would be at a minimum. Supply lines would have to stretch halfway around the earth.

Nor is China likely be to "knocked out" by bombing. There is no single industrial area in China. Arms factories are small and scattered. There are dozens of cities that the Chinese government could move to if it were forced to abandon its present capital. In fact, the history of Japan's bombing of China shows that this form of attack on the civilian population did more to unify the Chinese people than anything else.

Japanese imperialism's futile attempt to conquer China should be studied by all who think the U. S. should go to war with China. Starting from Korea, Japan tried for 14 years to subdue the Chinese colossus — then under a corrupt government that was hated by the people. Japan expended two million troops. Instead of being able to consolidate the territory conquered, the invaders found these areas had become the recruiting and assembly areas for guerrilla bands and armies.

An American imperialist war in China could drag on for decades. And, win or lose, the U. S. would be bled white.

THE KREMLIN'S ROLE IN THE ASIAN CRISIS

By George Breitman

What are the relations between the Kremlin and the Mao Tse-tung government of China? Do Stalin and Mao have the same interests and objectives in the present crisis? Can the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union be depended on to give unconditional and full aid to the anti-imperialist struggle sweeping over the Far East? The answers are vital not only for the future of Asia but for American workers who want to help in the establishment of an Asia independent of both imperialism and Stalinism.

No help in finding the correct answers is afforded by Truman, Acheson, Austin or the other spokesmen of the imperialist propaganda machine. According to them, the Mao regime is little more than a puppet of the Kremlin, carrying out its orders obediently in line with Stalin's "world revolutionary" objectives. This view, which is designed to justify Washington's own drive for world domination, is false in every important respect.

To begin with, the Chinese Communist Party owes neither its rise to power nor its prestige among the peoples of Asia to the Kremlin; it won its victory by submitting to the pressure of the peasant masses, who were seizing the land, and by breaking off attempts to work out a deal with Chiang Kai-shek, a deal which the Kremlin urged it to seek. It crushed the power of Chiang with its own resources, and without help from Stalin — unlike most of the regimes in Eastern Europe, which can truly be designated as satellites.

In other words, the overwhelming evidence is that the Chinese government is an independent power, and not a mere vassal or puppet. Where it acts in concert with the Kremlin, it does so as a partner and not in blind obedience. The chief bond holding this partnership together is the Chinese CP's distrust and fear of U.S. imperialism, which it knows would like to restore the regime of Chiang and the corrupt landlord and capitalist classes he represents. This is not the first time that the reactionary policies of U.S. imperialism have driven insurgent governments and peoples into the arms of the Kremlin.

While the present movements in Asia were not created by Stalin but by the collapse of capitalism and the insurgence of the colonial masses, Stalin knows how to exploit them to the hilt. He consents to or goes along with the anti-imperialist struggles of the Chinese CP and the Korean CP, and under certain circumstances extends them limited material aid. But their objectives are not the same. Generally speaking, Mao Tse-tung fights imperialism because he regards it as a deadly threat to the Chinese revolution. But Stalin's sole interest in the Chinese or Korean revolutions is how he can utilize them to promote his own foreign policy, which has a single aim — the preservation of the power and privileges of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

Utilizes Movements for Own Purposes

One way in which Stalin is able to utilize anti-imperialist movements has already been demonstrated in Korea. Whether or not he initiated or welcomed the outbreak of the conflict in that country, he realized soon after the U.S. began to commit heavy forces there that Korea provided an excellent opportunity to "bleed" U.S. imperialism, keeping it engaged in a costly but indecisive campaign which has had extremely adverse effects on the positions of the U.S. throughout the world but which at the same time in no way impaired the military strength of the Soviet Union.

The Korean situation thus fitted neatly into the basic aim of the Kremlin's strategy, which was and still is to exert pressure on Washington for a deal to divide the world up into spheres of influence which each camp would respect. So far as Stalin is concerned, the involvement of Chinese troops in Korea serves the same purposes, although Mao's main consideration is to prevent the installation of a hostile power's military forces on China's border.

Because Stalin benefits from the extension of the anti-imperialist struggle in Asia up to a certain point, he is willing to grant it a certain amount of help — but only a certain amount. This was proved in the earlier stages of the Korean war, when the Koreans were able to battle their way near to Pusan but were unable to clinch the victory because Stalin adamantly withheld the necessary help, especially the means to create an air force. So much help, but no more — why?

One probable reason is that Stalin, while eager to employ "bleeding" in order to promote the conditions for a deal with the U.S., evidently is hesitant about carrying the process to a point where it may provoke imperialism into unleashing the general world war which he is so anxious to postpone. An even more compelling reason is that Stalin does not want to have allies who are TOO strong and, therefore, capable of being independent.

He cannot, he dare not forget the example of Yugoslavia's break. While he knows that he cannot treat big China the way he treats Bulgaria or the way he tried to treat Yugoslavia, he knows that the trend to independence from the Kremlin, and antagonism toward it, is bound to develop in the Far East as it did in Eastern Europe. The Soviet bureaucracy, it cannot be repeated too often, fears the extension of the world revolution as much as the imperialists do. It exploits revolutionary movements and situations — as a caste trying to balance itself between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, it has to do this — but it never forgets that these situations set into motion the mass forces that will spell the doom of the Soviet bureaucracy too.

Conflict of Basic Interests

The strategic interests of the Kremlin and the revolutionary interests of the Chinese and Korean masses seem to coincide at the present time, while he is able to extract some benefits from their struggles. But for the Soviet bureaucracy, the Chinese and Korean masses are expendable (like the masses all over the world, including the Soviet Union). When it suits the Kremlin's purposes, it will betray and subvert their struggles without a moment's notice as it has done so often in the past in the pursuit of its negotiations and deals with imperialism. In fact, the history of Stalinism, which has been replete with such betrayals for more than two decades, teaches us not to exclude the possibility that Stalin might join with the imperialists in arranging a deal at the expense of the Asian peoples if he felt it was necessary to preserve his own position in the Soviet Union.

A correct understanding of the situation in Asia must take as its starting point: 1. The profoundly progressive character of the colonial and anti-imperialist movements which, despite all the inadequacies of their leadership and program, hasten the collapse of capitalism as a world system and create the conditions for the victory of socialism in the industrially advanced countries. 2. The conflict of basic interests between the Kremlin and these anti-imperialist movements, even though the leaders of the latter may now consider themselves loyal Stalinists and be in alliance with Moscow.

Intervention by the American people to prevent the catastrophe toward which Washington is drifting will do more than avert the useless expenditure of millions of lives and billions of dollars. It will also pave the way for the masses of Asia to take their destiny into their own hands. Once the threat of imperialist attack is removed, the Chinese people will have no further need for an alliance with the Kremlin that is one-sided in the extreme because it yields all the benefits to the Soviet bureaucracy. They will be better able to assert their independence of ALL oppressors, including Stalin, and to continue the development of their revolution which was only begun by the overthrow of Chiang Kai-shek. Stopping the war now will deal a blow not only to the imperialists but also to the cynical exploiters of the Asian peoples' struggles.

New York Public Meeting

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KOREA AND THE WORLD CRISIS
Speaker:
DAVID L. WEISS
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 15, 8 PM
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THE MILITANT

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Who Threatens Whom?

By Joseph Keller

Truman, Acheson and MacArthur put on a completely innocent air about the conflict with China. They deny any provocation. According to them, the U.S. is the offended party. You would think that it is the Chinese army on the U.S. border across the St. Lawrence River that's at issue, instead of the other way around. Let's get the facts straight. It's the U.S. armies that drove to the Yalu River across from the Manchurian border of China and threatened the power installations essential to Manchuria's industry.

The only difference between China's reaction to a hostile army on its border and what U.S. reaction would be if a Chinese army were on the American border is that the U.S. would have started counteraction sooner. The whole of America's military might would have been thrown into battle the moment a Chinese soldier set foot anywhere on the soil of the Western Hemisphere.

In fact, since 1823, the year of the Monroe Doctrine, U.S. policy has forbid any nation outside the Western Hemisphere to invade or seek territory or in any way interfere in North and South America. The U.S. has assumed the right to defend the whole hemisphere from foreign encroachment. Can we then expect the 500 million people of China not to oppose foreign encroachment even on their border?

But, claim the U.S. spokesmen, we gave our assurance to China that we would not violate the Manchurian border and would "protect China's legitimate interests" with respect to the Yalu River power developments.

Why should the Chinese believe this, any more than the U.S. would believe such assurance from the Chinese if they were approaching the St. Lawrence through Canada and threatening to seize power installations supplying New England and New York City?

Indeed, the Chinese have every reason not to believe it. At the very moment this U.S. assurance was being given, the U.S. fleet was surrounding and protecting the regime of Chiang Kai-shek on Formosa, where the hated despot had fled from the wrath of the Chinese people.

This assurance came from those who had aided Chiang Kai-shek with billions of dollars in funds and arms in his attempt to smash the Chinese revolution. MacArthur, the very commander of the U.S.-UN forces which drove to the Manchurian border, is a bellicose advocate of the program of Asian conquest. Only a few weeks ago he proclaimed the policy of setting up Formosa as a permanent American military base from which Asia could be bombed "from Vladivostok to Singapore."

It was the U.S. that in the last century imposed by force the "open door" policy on China, which permitted all the imperialist powers to seize territories and loot China. It was the U.S., under President Theodore Roosevelt, that agreed to turn Korea over to Japan after the Russo-Japanese war. And it has been the U.S., since the end of World War II, that has supplied the arms and money to keep French, Dutch and British imperialism going in Indo-China, the East Indies and Malaya.

If experience is the best teacher, then every experience of the Chinese teaches them that they have not the slightest grounds for trusting the Trumans, Achesons and MacArthurs when they profess the intention to protect China's interests. Instead, China is doing exactly what the U.S. would do if any invading foreign army came as close to American soil.

Lure of the Yalu

By Paul Abbott

Why was MacArthur so insistent on putting U.S. armies on the Yalu river?

According to the official propaganda, MacArthur was only carrying out UN directives to punish "aggression" and "restore" democracy to Korea. This sounds like a laudable aim. But to accomplish this aim, why was it essential to send American forces clear up to the Yalu? And in winter! Isn't this desolate, bleak, semi-Arctic region one of the hell-holes of world geography?

MacArthur's strange passion for extending "democracy" in Korea up to the Yalu seems all the more remarkable in view of his own dictatorial cast of mind and his rabid, geo-political pronunciamentos which contemptuously disregard democratic aims in outlining the ruthless imperialist policy of conquest he seeks to advance.

The truth is that the Yalu is the gateway to Manchuria and consequently an invaluable possession to an imperialist power dreaming of conquest of this area of the world. MacArthur was only following the path blazed by Japan. If the divine Mikado could do it, why not a military genius as close to divinity as MacArthur?

In addition it so happens that the Yalu river basin is not to be spurned as a prize in and of itself. One of the biggest dams in the world stands on the Yalu. The present capacity of this power source is larger than that of Russia's famous Dnieper project and two-thirds that of Boulder Dam. Its ultimate capacity is about 10% above the ultimate capacity of Boulder Dam.

The Yalu electric power complex stands in the heart of fabulous resources. Within 100 miles are Manchuria's principal coal deposits, including the world's largest open-cut coal mine at Fushun where the high-grade beds are estimated at four billion tons, one-fifth of Manchuria's total coal resources.

This abundant coal and electric power is combined with iron deposits that are among the world's best. The Tungpientao deposits flanking the Yalu have an iron content up to 63%. More than 100 million tons of this ore have already been ascertained and the Tungpientao deposits alone may be about half as large as the rich Labrador iron deposits now under American development. They are much better located than the Labrador beds. In fact, nowhere else in the world have such quantities of high-grade ore been discovered in the very midst of huge, easily-worked coal fields.

And this is not all. There are big deposits of alumina shale which formed the basis of large aluminum plants built under Japanese domination.

On top of this, the Yalu area has valuable deposits of copper, lead, zinc, tungsten, wolfram and vanadium. And even this does not exhaust the inventory. MacArthur no doubt did not find the existence of lucrative gold mines incompatible with his hunger to bring the blessings of "democracy" to the Yalu river, or the beds of uranium, requisite for atomic energy, which were already being worked by Japan before the end of World War II.

Most of the known resources are on the Manchurian side of the Yalu river, but the whole area has not been fully prospected. Many of the discoveries were made only on the eve of World War II. Thus it can be seen that this region constitutes a unique raw material, fuel and power base for large-scale industrial development such as made possible the Ruhr in Europe and the Pittsburgh-Detroit complex in America.

This was the pot of gold that lured MacArthur into military disaster. As every business man on Wall Street can thoroughly appreciate, MacArthur's itch to follow the democratic rainbow to the gateway to Manchuria was not altogether Quixotic.

MacArthur's Alibis

By Frank Poole

General MacArthur, long deified by the American press, has apparently lost the whole Korean war in one battle. Criticisms of the "military genius" are now being heard. This is very painful for MacArthur because he has always been a grandstand general, fighting his battles with one eye on the enemy and his good eye on the newspapers. Everyone knows his political ambitions — two tries for the presidential nomination. Smedley Butler, the ex-Marine general with a conscience, revealed that MacArthur, after he drove the bonus marchers out of Washington, was considered for the post of American Fuehrer by those circles who saw a fascist dictatorship as the answer to the social dangers of the depression of the Thirties.

It appears that MacArthur's thirst for glory and his politics contributed to his staggering defeat in Korea. Not that he is responsible for the whole debacle in Korea; that was inherent in the whole American intervention. MacArthur simply hastened matters along.

The 1942 buildup of MacArthur gave him a headstart on all other World War II U.S. generals and rendered him semi-independent of the War Department and the president. His popular reputation made both Roosevelt and Truman handle him with kid gloves. That day is gone forever. MacArthur's conduct of the Korean campaign is being exposed. He is being revealed as a liar before the whole public.

Take, for example, his promise to the GIs that the Nov. 24 attack would get them home by Christmas. This promise, twice made, rated headlines throughout the country. When the attack failed MacArthur, instead of admitting an error, tried to maintain the fiction of his infallibility by claiming that he had merely made a jocular remark that the papers should never have printed.

Personally launching the offensive with great fanfare, he described it as a giant "vise" closing on the enemy in the final battle of the war. When the attack produced a smashing counter-attack that sent the U. S. army reeling, the story was revised. Instead of an attack, we learn from the communiques, merely a "probing movement" had been launched on Nov. 24. Moreover, it was not unsuccessful but really in a way a "fortunate move" because it forced the Chinese to reveal their strength. One can imagine, but not print, the reply of a GI doughfoot to this praise of the debacle as a "fortunate move."

The latest line is that MacArthur didn't want to attack, but was forced to move in order to beat the Chinese to the punch. Compare that with the dispatch which appeared in most papers on the day MacArthur's offensive started: "Tokyo observers said MacArthur's decision to launch his offensive now was a challenge to Chinese Communist leaders either to commit this massive force (Chinese armies known to be then in Manchuria) to battle against the U. S. and UN or to get out of Korea."

Not even the official figures on the number of the enemy, now being issued by MacArthur, can be trusted. With each communique these figures have multiplied faster than the proverbial rabbits. Beginning with 200,000 they are now over a million. Hanson Baldwin, N. Y. Times military analyst, on Dec. 6 disregards the figure of over a million and estimates that "no more than 200,000 to 300,000 Chinese Communists are as yet in Korea," reinforced by North Korean troops numbering about 100,000. At the same time he puts MacArthur's ground forces at "considerably over 300,000."

The British government leaked out the information that as early as Oct. 12 — a few days after he crossed the 38th Parallel — MacArthur had asked permission to bomb Manchuria. Similarly it has been revealed that the Indian government relayed a warning from Peiping that China would intervene if the 38th Parallel was crossed. The British and Dutch sought to have MacArthur stop short of the Manchurian border, establishing a sort of buffer zone. MacArthur rejected this out of hand. Claiming that such policies would endanger the victories he had won, He announced that he could not take responsibility for the safety of his troops — a military way of asking to be replaced or threatening to resign — if such policies were imposed on him.

Truman had no objection to MacArthur's big offensive of Nov. 24. The victory MacArthur had promised would coincide with the arrival of the Chinese Communist delegation at the UN and thus put the U. S. diplomats in a "strong position." That was the hope and expectation. In fact the only difference that has so far been revealed between Truman and his general was Truman's assuring the Chinese over MacArthur's objections that the Yalu hydro-electric dams would not be interfered with.

In a steady stream of "clarifications" MacArthur has been denying everything. But the weight of evidence is too great. When the secret files of the foreign offices are opened the particulars of all his lies will be revealed. Many of his denials will be found to rest on shyster evasions such as not having formally asked for permission to bomb China, but doing it "off the record," or having one of his aides approach certain UN figures or using the stooge Syngman Rhee regime to float trial baloons.

This will be of interest to future historians; the public will vaguely remember him as just another reactionary general of the past.

What to Do?

As American troops on the Korean front were retreating as rapidly as possible, Washington was the scene of dozens of conferences by government officials groping desperately to find a way out of the disastrous mess they created. Above, Secretary of State Acheson (c.) confers with Senators H. Alexander Smith (R, N.J.) and Tom Connally (D, Tex.), leaders of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

'No Quarrel at All' with New Law -- Richardson

Seth W. Richardson, chairman of the Subversive Activities Control Board, has been criticized by some of his fellow-Republicans, including McCarthy, for saying that he had "some reservations about the way this (McCarran) law was drawn and how useful it may be in gaining the ends it's supposed to gain."

But the suspicions of the McCarthyites really have no foundation. For Richardson also said, in his interview with Cabell Phillips, printed in the Dec. 3 N. Y. Times Magazine: "This thing is one of the most radical legal and legislative experiments of our time, and I want to find out if it can be made to work — if I can make it work."

"NO QUARREL AT ALL"

In fact, when he becomes specific, his "reservations" about the new law shrink to the vanishing point. He told Phillips: "I've got no quarrel at all with what the first provision sets out to do; that is to require the registration of subversive organizations and fifth-column activity. We damn well have got to protect ourselves against it.

"I've got no quarrel, either, with the other provisions of the act. But I don't think they belong here and they are going to complicate the administration of the first part, which is the most important part."

Asked if he thought the law could be made to work, Richardson said he thought so, "if we find some way to conduct orderly hearings." He deplored the fact that "a quasi-judicial board such as ours" lacks the powers of a regular court to "punish a principal or a witness or an attorney to enforce discipline and to keep the ball rolling toward a decent conclusion."

THE "BIGGEST PROBLEM"

That, he said, was the "biggest problem" aside from "certain legal difficulties in the way the law is drawn." Phillips writes that Richardson scowled and his voice took on "a belligerent harshness" as he discussed this question. "Some of these groups are experts at harassment," he complained.

You will have to look for a long time before you find anything more brazen than this reference to the real victims of harassment — that is, the organizations brought before his board — as the perpetrators of harassment! He evidently thinks they should cooperate with the board and the administration in getting themselves registered and hounded as "subversives."

Another highlight of the interview, and another token of what can be expected from the SACB, was Richardson's reply to the question of how "does one establish the presence or lack of so tenuous and indefinable a quality as loyalty?"

His answer was: "That's always a tough one. In the absence of an overt act like sabotage or espionage, or an outright declara- of some sort, there is never an absolute criterion.

"In spite of all that's been said against the use of 'guilt by association' as a yardstick in loyalty cases, however, it is an aspect that cannot be overlooked. if you have reason to suspect that a man is disloyal and you lack the overt proof of it, yet you have incontrovertible evidence that he associates constantly, and from choice, with other people of known disloyalty — well, you are just bound by all the laws of reason to take account of it."

To which Stalin and Vishinsky could reply: "That's what we've been saying all the time!"

Gov't Will Try to Force Registration Of 130 Groups

(Continued from page 1)

directed, dominated, or controlled by the foreign government or foreign organization controlling the world Communist movement," and "communist-front organizations," defined as those "substantially directed, dominated, or controlled" by "communist-action organizations."

The reactionary sponsors of the law repeatedly stated that no other organizations would be covered by the registration provisions. Opponents of the law, including **The Militant**, warned that no trust could be put in such promises because the law was so loosely written that almost any organization could be attacked by an enforcement agency that chose to do so.

Now Richardson comes along and confirms our warnings. And the enforcement agency that is interpreting the law in the most stringent possible way — by preparing to demand the registration of scores of organizations that have no foreign connections at all, let alone domination by the "world Communist movement" — is Truman's Department of Justice, which had the brass to pose as a "liberal" opponent of the law before it was enacted!

McGrath knows that most of the groups on his "subversive" blacklist are completely free of foreign control. But he evidently has decided to "vindicate" that list, now being challenged in a number of cases before federal courts, by getting the SACB to proscribe them too.

Of course the SACB has the legal power to reject McGrath's contentions regarding the groups he will cite in his petitions. But Phillips' article about Richardson, as well as Richardson's record as head of the top Loyalty Board which reviewed the government employee purge cases, indicates the SACB's eagerness to cooperate with the administration in every way possible to "make the law work." (See other article on the Richardson interview on Page 4.)

Steel Profits To Rise Despite Wage Increases

Far to the rear of other CIO unions, Philip Murray's CIO Steelworkers union after months of stalling negotiations has at last wheedled wage increases from the profits-swollen steel industry — but not until the steel barons had assured themselves of price increases which will mean bigger profits than ever.

PHILIP MURRAY

U.S. Steel and Bethlehem Steel, the two largest corporations in the industry, on Nov. 30 granted wage raises ranging from 12½ cents an hour in the lowest wage categories to 28 cents in the highest. The bulk of the steel workers will get raises of from 16 cents down to the 12½-cent minimum.

Following the lead of the two giants, other big corporations fell quickly into line, including Jones & Laughlin, Republic and Youngstown Sheet & Tube. Approximately 1,000,000 steel workers are expected to get the increases by the beginning of next year.

Although negotiations were going on for months, the steel corporations were under no real pressure to make concessions before the termination of the contract at the end of this month. Murray had assured the industry in advance that the union would "respect" the contract and take no effective action to secure increases before the contract deadline.

BEHIND THE PARADE

Thus, while a million auto workers and as many more in other major industries secured wage boosts months ago, largely through strike actions in disregard of "sacred" contracts, the steel workers had to subsist on the wage rates of two years ago while the steel companies for the past five months raked in the largest profits of their history.

A year ago the steel workers were induced by Murray to waive any wage increases in return for a monthly hundred dollar pension, including social security, after the age of 65 and 25 years' service in any one company. This latest wage rate increase is the first in two years.

On Dec. 9, U. S. Steel is scheduled to make the largest quarterly dividend disbursement in its history, with the exception of the year 1917. At the same time, the company is raising its prices $5.50 to $6 a ton. This more than compensates for the wage increase. With increased production anticipated on the basis of the expanded war program a large part of the increase will be absorbed in lowered unit costs based on higher productivity.

COSTS BOSSES NOTHING

A sizeable portion of the new wage increases was slashed in advance by the rapid rise in the cost of living during the period of protracted negotiations and the delay in raising the wage demands. Further rises in living costs with the increased war preparations are certain to reduce the real wage raise still more in the next months.

However, the new wage rates are frozen until Dec. 31, 1951, regardless of the extent of price rises in the meantime. The contracts do not include protective escalator clauses that provide during the life of the contracts for automatic wage increases periodically adjusted to the rises in living costs.

Under such clauses, the General Motors workers on Dec. 1 secured their second wage increase within three months of 3 cents an hour and hundreds of thousands of other workers who got basic wage increases last summer have just obtained additional raises.

Without such a clause, the steel workers are likely to see their wage gains eaten away completely before the next contract.

NAACP LAWYER OFF TO TOKYO TO DEFEND CONVICTED GI'S

Thurgood Marshall, chief counsel of the NAACP, will fly to Tokyo in order to aid Negro troops unjustly court-martialed and sentenced to long prison terms, it was announced last week.

"Appeals for aid from imprisoned Negro soldiers and reports from war correspondents, returned officers and enlisted men, indicate that many of the convicted GI's have been victims of racial discrimination and need our full support," said Walter White, NAACP executive secretary.

The NAACP, which made the defense of these soldiers the No. 1 item on its legal defense agenda, has received a constant stream of letters from the imprisoned men asking for assistance.

The most publicized case was that of Lt. Leon A. Gilbert, whose sentence to death by a drumhead court-martial was recently commuted to 20 years imprisonment by President Truman following nation-wide protests. Thurgood Marshall promised that the NAACP would continue its efforts on behalf of Gilbert. What is needed now is a continued demand by labor and Negro organizations for full freedom for this victim of Jim Crow prejudice.

A-Bomb Threat Outrages World

(Continued from Page 1)

law, only the President can authorize the use of the bomb, and no such authorization has been given."

NO MORE REASSURING

This was an attempt to placate public opinion here and abroad with a reassurance that he had not yet given an order to use the A-Bomb and that MacArthur, whose obvious intent has been to provoke a war with China, has no authority to use the A-Bomb on his own decision.

Truman's second statement was more cautiously worded than his first, but it was no more reassuring. It very conspicuously omitted the one thing everyone wanted to hear: The promise that under no circumstances would Truman order the use of the A-Bomb which could set off World War III. This omission confirmed the world in its first reaction. Popular opinion had not misinterpreted Truman's first statement at all. It was a clear war threat and intended as such.

The capitalist press has tried to cover up for Truman as best it can. The newspapers have explained his A-Bomb statement as at worst only a "blunder," a "mistake in timing," "bad psychology," and, as the N. Y. Times put it, "momentary carelessness."

Their objection has been only to the occasion and the manner of the statements, not to the fact that Washington has "under consideration" the use of the A-Bomb in Korea and Manchuria "if necessary." But the very fact that it could even be "under consideration" indicates that there is no restraint upon Truman's use of the bomb except expediency.

That the bomb is ready for use in the Far East was revealed by a "high American source" connected with MacArthur's bomber command in Tokyo who told the United Press that "of course, we are equipped" to deliver atomic bombs in B-29s over Manchuria on a few hour's notice.

NO MORAL COMPUNCTION

Moreover, Truman's statement was no clumsy "blunder." It was a test of public sentiment and a first step toward preparing public opinion for acceptance of the use of the atomic bomb against China. Washington has by no means abandoned the idea as a result of the first reaction to Truman's statement. What must be realized is that Truman has not the slightest moral compunctions about dropping one or a thousand atom bombs. Why should he draw the line at the A-Bomb in Korea when U. S. "saturation bombing" has already destroyed as many cities as scores of A-Bombs could have done and caused more than half a million civilian casualties? There was no moral deterrent to his using A-Bombs five years ago against Hiroshima and Nagasaki at a time when it was a matter not of "necessity" and "last resort," but when the Japanese government had already made overtures for surrender.

Some people are tempted by the idea that use of the A-Bomb is "necessary" as a desperate means of saving the American boys in Korea by ending the war quickly or enabling the U. S. troops to evade a trap and get out of Korea before they are completely overwhelmed. That idea is totally false. Aside from the fact that military experts themselves do not consider the use of the bomb militarily feasible in the Korean situation, the use of the A-Bomb will not stop the war. It will make its spread even more inevitable.

The use of the atomic bomb on Japan didn't save American lives in the long run. It confronted the world only with the threat of a greater and more horrible war. Its possession made the American imperialists and militarists more arrogant and aggressive. Today in Korea the lives of tens of thousands of Americans and hundreds of thousands of Koreans are being destroyed as the evil consequence of the course that was determined, at least in great part, when Truman ordered the atomic destruction of Hiroshima.

HOW TO SAVE GI'S

There is only one way to save the lives of American boys in Korea and in the more horrible war with China that Truman's "police action" is leading to.

Let Truman issue immediate orders for the withdrawal of all U. S. troops from Korea.

They are there now because Truman sent them there personally, without a declaration of war, without formal consultation of Congress or the consent of the American people. He can order the troops out of Korea.

There is no need for any more American boys to die in Korea. If the American people, taking the leadership of the world-wide protest that has been aroused by Truman's A-Bomb threat, actively intervene in the crisis, they can stop the cruel mass slaughter and save the lives of their sons, fathers, brothers and husbands. They can save American lives in Korea only by telling Truman in no uncertain terms that he must:

Stop the war NOW!

Withdraw all troops! Get the boys out of Korea at once!

Pull the madly ambitious MacArthur out of the Far East!